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The Commonwealth

June 10, 1949

Canada Goes to the Polls

Margaret Wade

The Seelisberg Plan on Anti-Semitism

John Cogley

Why Liquidate the Reuthers?

Francis Downing

VOLUME I

15c

NUMBER 9

Next Week—

BATTLE OF THE COLORADO, by Harry W. Flannery, gives a clear-cut account of the fight between Arizona and California over the life-giving waters of the mighty Colorado River. Big interests are at odds: irrigation of the agricultural empire of Arizona, and the water supply of fast-growing Southern California, with its many million inhabitants. Some people would put it up to Congress, others to the Supreme Court, but meanwhile the fight goes on.

SCIENCE AND THE BIBLE, by Achille Cardinal Lienart, Bishop of Lille. The first part of a remarkable article by one of the leading members of the hierarchy of France deals principally with the scientists' current version of creation. "It is true that all the problems have not been solved. Science has still much research to do. But what a wealth of established facts we already possess! And what grandeur in the panorama that science has sketched from them! These discoveries, however, present some serious problems for the Christian. What belief can he still give to the story of creation as it is written in the first chapters of the Bible? In view of the fact that evolution . . ." It also indicates the direction of the Christian reaction to these facts, while the conclusion, in the June 24 issue, gives that attitude in some detail.

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The COMMONWEAL

VOLUME L

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81st Congress: The Record So Far

THE STATUTORY adjournment date for Congress is July 31. In June Congressmen train their sights on adjournment day, and any suggestion that a session might go into August is taken as after-hours punishment. A Washington summer does present a challenge, and the "response to the challenge" is flight.

Senator Scott Lucas, Senate Majority Leader, predicts that this session will end around July 31 if there is action on three "must" items: repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, extension of the reciprocal trade program, and the Senate ratification of the North Atlantic Treaty. Party strategy is, apparently, to postpone much of the Truman program until next session, although the President has not yet consented to a July 31 deadline.

In January, in his State of the Union message, the President asked Congress to enact 24 measures of domestic legislation. Early in June he had signed only one into law—and that one, a rent control bill, was a reluctant compromise.

The domestic program is bogged down for several reasons. The pressure of international affairs has shifted priority of attention to the foreign aid program. A coalition of Republicans and

Southern Democrats, in blocking civil rights, took effective control of the Congress out of the Administration's hands. And the President himself has displayed an uncompromising attitude that has impeded action: in the face of a deflationary trend and decreasing national production, he has doggedly insisted on higher taxes and authority to deal with inflation; as a substitute for Taft-Hartley, he has wanted a slightly improved Wagner Act when it has been apparent that more of a compromise, better adjusted to current labor-management relations, will have to be found.

As a result, prospects for domestic legislation at this session are dim. Only the repeal of Taft-Hartley was mentioned by Senator Lucas. Civil rights, health insurance, the farm program and revised taxes are all expected to be passed by; and there is only a chance that there will be action on the minimum wage, expansion of social security, housing and an improved Displaced Persons Act.

It was, of course, not anticipated that all of this program could be handled by the first session of the 81st Congress. But on at least two domestic measures, housing and the revised DP bill, it is hard to see how a responsible Congress can adjourn without taking action.

A bill providing federal funds for housing and slum clearance has already passed the Senate; the desperate need for public assistance in building low-cost housing, which private capital has not provided, is an easily verifiable fact. As for the DP legislation, there is general agreement that the present law is restrictive and discriminatory; satisfactory substitute legislation is pending, which will remove from the books a law in which we can have little pride.

Transferring the rest of the President's program to the next session will put it squarely up to the 81st Congress to evade the "do-nothing" charge aimed at the Republican 80th Congress. The second session will inherit the issue of civil rights, which remains the principal challenge to our sense of justice and social responsibility which the President has put before Congress and the American people. The response of Congress to this challenge has been to perpetuate in the United States a racially restrictive democracy. If, then, the 81st Congress has not yet done all it might, it has convincingly shown us the measure of our own imperfection.

Republican Health Bill

IT IS difficult to say at the outset how seriously the new alternative to Mr. Truman's compulsory health program is, proposed at this juncture when so little new legislation appears to be in the cards. However, since the securing of an adequate national health scheme is of necessity a matter requiring much investigation, many suggested proposals and long deliberation, it is worth review-

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ing the main features of the new bill regardless of its immediate prospects in Congress.

As things stand now there are several undeniable facts. The people of the United States as a whole simply do not have medical facilities anywhere near what they need. Certain regions of the country are notorious for their lack of doctors, nurses and hospitals. Even in the most highly populated areas facilities are inadequate. Certain sicknesses are so protracted and costly that only people in the very highest income brackets can obtain proper medical care without mortgaging their earnings for years. The average wage-earner in the United States is simply incapable of financing long illness out of earnings and savings.

On the other hand, there are the weightiest sort of arguments against compulsory national health insurance. Most doctors are vigorously opposed to it as breaking up the normal personal doctor-patient relationship, bringing in government service with its multitudinous official forms and records, and the creation of a vast new bureaucracy. These and other fears are shared by those who see in this form of socialized medicine an immense step toward the centralized welfare state.

Yet the problem of national medical care cannot be evaded. It is not met, either, simply by pointing to the Blue Cross, H.I.P. and other voluntary plans to which 35,000,000 Americans now belong. For these programs do not exist in many areas and where they do vast numbers simply cannot afford the fees.

Viewed against this background, the new Republican proposal scores on a number of points. It takes existing plans as a starting point, extends the services they offer and engages the state and federal governments to supply the deficiencies of those who cannot keep up the requisite payments. Furthermore it envisages a sliding scale based on 3 percent of a man's income up to \$5,000 instead of the fixed rates which now apply on hospital and medical service plans. This provision performs an important equalizing function which enables families with low incomes to participate in the benefits. The structure of the system throughout is consciously designed to give municipalities and states—rather than the federal government—the principal public initiative and responsibility.

Moreover, the plan is purely voluntary. Both doctors and prospective patients may join it or remain outside. It capitalizes on the experience of existing agencies and, by giving to them the task of carrying on the great expansion which would result, obviates the need of a whole new category of bureaucrats fastened on the body politic.

The Republican plan recognizes the need for the construction of new hospital facilities and plans major appropriations for that purpose. It envisages millions in government aid to the medical and nursing schools required to provide the

new services and staff the new facilities, as well as for the extensive new local public health units which are needed. Yet the funds required are comparatively modest.

If something as comprehensive as the new Republican bill should be enacted and fail to provide adequate medical care, then the advocates of full-fledged socialized medicine would have a much more powerful case.

Merging City Backyards

AT THIS SEASON when city-dwellers dream about one day having a small country place, it is good to learn that some people are worrying about the lack of outdoors in the city. Happily one of the groups that has been figuring about what can be done to provide outdoor urban living is *McCall's*, a magazine which is able to go about things on a big scale. Apparently within a year its "Yardville" plan has gone into operation in forty-one cities.

Admittedly this technique of bringing fresh air and sunshine and immediate contact with the soil into the lives of any number of urbanites works only under certain physical conditions. It is a backyard enterprise which is hardly feasible when houses on city lots are set far back from the street. And it is hard to see how it could be utilized where lofty apartments and tenements preempt most of the available space. Yet the two-by-four city backyard is a common enough phenomenon throughout the United States. There must be thousands and thousands of tenants of single and semi-detached dwellings where such developments would be practicable.

The cities reporting at the recent Yardville luncheon sponsored by *McCall's* indicate the variety of situations in which this technique would be feasible: Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Minneapolis, Boston, Atlanta, Baltimore, Cleveland, New Orleans and Schenectady.

The idea is engagingly simple. The dwellers in a block-long row of houses—or any appreciable number of contiguous dwellings—agree to pool their backyard space. The dividing fences come down and the larger area resulting is by joint agreement allotted to various facilities. The terrain bordering twenty-nine homes in Minneapolis, for instance, is to contain a sand box, a basketball court, barbecue facilities, garden plots, lawn areas and shade trees.

It would take considerable doorbell ringing to decide definitely how well these projects are actually working in city after city. The point is that the possibilities are there. To whatever benefits can be expected from getting outdoors a little must be added the discovery of the potentialities in neighborhood action, the virtues of increasing the range of sociability and the providing of important recreational facilities right at home. Here and there participation in such a project may re-

veal "green thumbs" where they never were suspected. It might even lead a few urbanites eventually to move out to an area where there are real expanses of the good earth.

Mr. Lilienthal's "Atomic Security"

THE FUSS and fury of the Hickenlooper-Lilienthal controversy comes, by complicated ways, from the hard question, "How shall we face communism?" This question, which sweeps over the most diverse political issues, is not, certainly, the fundamental problem of civilization; but it does force a same, unpleasing pattern upon nearly all matters of practical politics and power that come up for action. An extraordinary partisanship has grown up around the red flag, with a kind of fabled Byzantine fury. The "colors" seem to generate, almost spontaneously, frantic loyalties and antagonism. A constant multiplication of differences, concrete and abstract, conscious and unconscious, important and unimportant, whirls affairs toward a vortex.

There were three charges which the newspapers had, in a scattered way, reported, and which Senator Hickenlooper focused: some of the atomic power semi-raw material, Uranium 235, was lost or mislaid; some communists and sympathizers were brought into the nuclear effort by grants of fellowships from the A.E.C.; in general, there was "incredible mismanagement."

Two-thirds of this attack is about security. At this date, probably only conscious fellow-travelers would deny that atomic energy development involves a great problem of security. Chairman Lilienthal calls the atomic program "the principal security enterprise of this country." But the definition of the security problem remains open.

One school concentrates on the military and "subversive" threat of the "Russian State Party." The crucial thing is the drive of the communists for control of the world, through the resources and the state and the armies of the Soviet Union, and through the party and agents which the Politburo manages as an army throughout the world. This is the most "realistic" school. The threat is a tangible imperialism, a material strategy whose implements are weapons we can cover by statistics: rifles and airplanes, rocket guns and submarines, army divisions and geographic bases, spies and agents and supporting party members, and—atomic weapons.

This "Soviet imperialism" school logically should want military control of the atomic energy enterprise. The school, we believe, takes too narrow a view of the problem, although a view correct within its limits. It would be a serious mistake to turn back the A.E.C. to military control. But it would also be a serious mistake, we believe, to deny and repudiate the thesis that the US and the world are targets of the material drive of

Soviet imperialism.

Mr. Lilienthal, in his Memorial Day press interview, "gave as his description of 'atomic security,' the process of 'making the country stronger.'" Quite what Mr. Lilienthal means by this, we don't, at this point, know. It seems to favor the opposite school of anti-communists from that labeled above. In this school, communism is a "challenge" to our way of life. It presents an alternative which we repudiate for various reasons. The way to meet the challenge of communism is to advance our own social life along the progressive road of freedom and democracy. In respect to atomic energy, the question is how to use the new source of energy uncovered by nuclear physics; what institutional framework should be given to our new power; how are we to benefit mankind by the new technique? The significant strength of the country in the face of Soviet Communism is not to be judged by the whole fabric of our social contentment and productive means.

WE sympathize with this "challenge" school of anti-communists, too, if we may supply enough of the content required to fill some of the airpockets of vagueness with which it seems satisfied. But we oppose the lazy and sometimes dishonest error that the "fix up our country" advocates can banish by their rhetoric the active antagonism of the Soviets and the threat of communist imperialism. The Soviets gain relative force by our lack of virtue, but their antagonism is not based altogether on our sins. And however inevitably they might exploit a self-inflicted Western revolutionary situation, they do not neglect the means of modern war and aggression, with spying, subversion and sabotage—and the pilfering of atomic knowledge and know-how.

Between these two extremes, where does David Lilienthal stand? While we await information on which to base an opinion about the general management of the A.E.C., we may try to work out a position toward the whole "threat of communism" and that most ominous subdivision of it: "atomic security." We would not like to shirk reform of the American Republic. Likewise, we would not like our man-in-control-of-the-nucleus to act as if the Soviet did not want very much to get possession of our roughest weapon for use, and did not try to do so by processes of softening up and espionage which are far more pointed than the language of an A.D.A. convention. It is not sympathetic encouragement for social reform which we have learned to look for from Stalin, the Politburo, and the Party. Lilienthal admirably places his job in the necessary wider setting, and we want no narrower man. Will he describe now where he stands in the fuller view, and what he proposes to rule out of the picture? Not, we hope, original sin, any more than society's power and grace to reform.

The Canadian Election

A look at the issues and the parties in this month's test of the Liberal Government

Margaret Wade

"I WISH to be completely frank with the House. It is the intention of the government at the end of this week to recommend to His Excellency that he dissolve this Parliament" (April 25, 1949). With these words Prime Minister St. Laurent ended the political rumor and speculation about the date of the next general election in Canada. The formal dissolution of Parliament came on Saturday, April 30th, and the election date was officially announced as June 27th. With the commencement of political speeches and formal campaigns by the various candidates of all parties, it was obvious that that political ferment which is a general election had already begun to work.

Under the Canadian system of government, as under the British, the party forming the major part of the House of Commons after a general election is asked by the Governor-General, as the King's representative, to form a government. That government can remain in power for five years, unless it is forced to appeal to the people earlier if it loses a vote of confidence in the House, or if it feels that an earlier election is more likely to promote its re-election. This government privilege of choosing the date of an election is jealously guarded and, in Canada at least, it is considered a sign of weakness for the government to run its full five years. The Liberals, under Mr. St. Laurent, still have another year before they must seek re-election, but, after the Prime Minister's trip through the West during the Easter recess and after scanning other political portents, they obviously feel that this is the proper psychological moment.

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CANADA has three main political parties: the Liberals, the Progressive Conservatives, and the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, usually known as the CCF. The people of Canada will vote on June 27th for 262 members of the House of Commons in somewhat reorganized ridings, i.e., polling districts.

The Senate in Canada is a purely appointive body with life tenure, its members being chosen by the Prime Minister on a roughly geographic plan. It serves the function of an organized second thought on the legislation of the House,

having the same delaying power over legislation as the English House of Lords used to have. One of its unusual duties is the chore of passing divorce cases as private bills, particularly from the provinces of Quebec and Prince Edward Island, where strong religious opposition has prevented the formation of any divorce courts. One of the peculiarities of this appointment for life is that a new government finds itself burdened for some time with these hold-overs. Since the Senate is regarded as the happy hunting-ground for over-age, inconvenient, or otherwise deserving politicians, this frequently causes great pain to the newcomers and Senate reform often turns up as a plank in various platforms. Despite this, the Senate does include some brilliant men of great experience and certain of their committees, such as that on Banking and Commerce, do valuable and reasonably non-partisan work.

The Liberals have been in power for fourteen years, although their over-all majority in this last Parliament was very slim—only about three more than all the other parties combined. They are led now by the Right Honorable Louis St. Laurent, who succeeded Mr. Mackenzie King as Prime Minister last November. Prime Minister for over twenty-one years and party leader for nearly thirty, Mr. King exceeded all long-distance records. At 73 he felt the need of resigning, and the Liberal convention last August was called for the purpose of electing a new leader who, in taking Mr. King's position as party leader, would automatically become Prime Minister.

It was an open secret that he wanted as his successor Louis St. Laurent, distinguished Quebec lawyer and, at the time, Minister of External Affairs. This was partly sentiment and tradition, since he himself had inherited the leadership from Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the choice of a French Canadian Catholic would maintain that succession, but also it would assure the success of the Liberal cause in Quebec—and the Liberal ability to hold almost solidly the nest egg of Quebec's 65 seats has been the secret of its long maintenance in power. Besides, Mr. St. Laurent was thoroughly respected and admired in much of English-speaking Canada, despite some racial and religious prejudice, and he won the leadership by a substantial majority on the first ballot.

His integrity, his unaccented bilingualism, and his statesmanlike ability were generally acknowledged. He has refused to appeal to sectionalism and religious prejudice and has been as firm in isolationist Quebec in his speeches on the Atlantic Pact, as he has been to other more internationally minded audiences. The recent session of Parliament has proved that he has greater political generalship than was expected and that he can be a formidable controversialist.

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THE LIBERALS are going all-out to boost St. Laurent—their slogan is: “St. Laurent is your prosperity.” They are standing on their record—family allowances, increased old age pensions, liberal veterans benefits, stabilized farm prices, unemployment insurance, a fairly comprehensive scheme of health insurance through grants to the provinces, and tax agreements with seven of the nine old provinces—all these have been enacted during their years in power.

To sweeten the electors’ palate Mr. Abbott, the Minister of Finance, just brought down a budget that practically shrieked election year. The basic exemptions were raised to 1,000 and 2,000 dollars for single and married persons, respectively, the exemptions allowed for children were also increased—thus cutting nearly three-quarters of a million taxpayers off the rolls completely. Several nuisance taxes retained from the war years, such as the special excise taxes on soft drinks and chocolate bars, were removed completely, and other luxury taxes were greatly reduced. The early dissolution of Parliament has left this budget still not approved by the House and the government feels that it can justifiably say to the electors: “This will be done if you return us. Will another party make these same concessions?”

Thus they hope to erase the unpleasant impression left in the taxpayers’ minds by the “austerity” budget of last year, which made no appreciable cuts in the high tax rate. Another irritating measure, the restriction on imports from and funds for travel in the USA, imposed in November of 1947 to conserve Canada’s rapidly shrinking store of American dollars, is still in force, but is being relaxed piecemeal as Canada slowly builds up an adequate surplus of American currency.

To summarize the Liberals’ position then, they had, in the Parliament just ended, the most widespread national representation; over three-quarters of the Maritime members, an almost solid bloc from Quebec, fragmentary representation from Ontario, and from the prairie provinces where the newer political parties, such as the CCF and the Social Credit, have their great strength, and some representation from British Columbia. In Newfoundland they seem to have a good

chance of taking as many as five of the seven seats. Liberal governments—or coalitions headed by Liberals—exist in five of the nine provinces, although they do not always see eye to eye with Ottawa.

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IN THE last Parliament the Progressive Conservatives formed the official opposition with 69 seats. Recently they have fallen on evil days, their support coming almost wholly from Ontario, with a few western members, and a sprinkling from the East and Quebec. By many they are regarded as an Ontario party, the party of the rich and the imperialistic who favor closer relations with Britain rather than with the US. Now, Ontario is rather distrusted by the rest of the country for its concentration of riches and big business and its true-blue British, as opposed to Canadian, sentiments. (Visiting Englishmen are prone to find visits to Toronto rather a strain, as the Torontonians are so much more imperially minded than anyone else in the Commonwealth). During the first World War a Conservative government so thoroughly alienated Quebec sympathies by their attitude on conscription and their most inept methods of putting it into effect, that they have not yet succeeded in gaining back the important French support. Also, their great emphasis on mass immigration from the British Isles has always been offensive to the French, who feel that their share in populating the country by their high birth-rate should not be nullified and, most particularly, not insulted by the frequently expressed sentiments of true-blue Tories for the need to keep Canada “British.”

But there is a new feeling of optimism in the air and several new features in the Conservative policy. They feel that the time is ripe for a change, that the Liberals are due to be beaten, and that they are the party to do it. They have a new leader, chosen at their convention last summer, and they feel that they have solved the Quebec question. The new leader is George Drew, former Premier of Ontario, who is a colorful figure, heartily admired and as heartily hated. Drew is a thorough-going hater of Mackenzie King and all his works and a fighter—he made his reputation over two political *causes célèbres*, the Bren Gun contract of 1938 and the alleged unpreparedness of the Canadian Hong Kong expedition in 1941.

In two recent by-elections, caused by the death or resignation of the sitting members, the Conservatives succeeded in taking over seats that were considered Liberal strongholds. One was in Quebec and this gave rise to a number of interesting speculations. There is no provincial Conservative party in Quebec. M. Duplessis’ Union Nationale government is strongly anti-

Liberal with a great rallying cry of provincial autonomy and "survance des nôtres." Last summer he won a sweeping victory in the provincial election, taking 82 of the possible 92 seats, a particularly noteworthy feat since the Federal government had sent down assorted Cabinet ministers to aid the provincial Liberals.

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AS PROVINCIAL premiers, M. Duplessis and Mr. Drew enjoyed very friendly relations, since they both championed most vocally the cause of provincial rights against the "insidious centralization" desired by Ottawa. The two richest provinces, Ontario and Quebec, and the only ones enjoying adequate incomes from the tax fields left to them, they are the only provinces that have not entered into an agreement with the Dominion Government leasing certain fields of taxation to the Dominion in return for a substantial yearly grant. That issue of Dominion-Provincial relations, one of the main planks in the Conservatives' platform, was the subject to which Mr. Drew devoted his maiden speech in the House, certainly with one eye cocked.

Another issue which is particularly designed for French consumption is the constant resounding denunciation of Communists and Communism. There has been some very ardent, if well concealed, wooing of M. Duplessis and his powerful party machine. The Progressive Conservatives feel that if they can have his support, in fact if not in name, they have a good chance to break the Liberal hold on Quebec. It now appears that the wily M. Duplessis will go on a prolonged vacation till the beginning of July, permitting his organization to work for the Conservative candidates without any chance of losing his own personal prestige.

However, the Conservative organizer in Quebec may prove a bit embarrassing to his party in the rest of the country. In the recent by-election campaign, he refused to uphold the Atlantic Pact, which has received support from all parties and was ratified almost unanimously in the House. At the moment, he is acting as counsel for the Canadian Johns-Manville Company in the long-drawn out strike at Asbestos. The strike has been condemned by the company, who called in the provincial police and there have been most unfortunate incidents of violence and intimidation. A Catholic trade union is involved, and the clergy are so convinced of the justice of the strikers' cause that collections have been ordered at all churches of the Montreal and Quebec dioceses to provide help for their families. It seems unlikely that M. Sabourin's presence as representative of the company will endear either himself or the Conservative Party to the French Canadian workers.

The general platform on which the Progressive Conservatives are standing calls, of course, for a sharp decrease in taxation and cuts in government extravagance—such as reductions in the "bloated Civil Service"—though it advocates more liberal family allowances for larger families, more generous old age pensions, and several other expensive items, including greatly increased expenditures on defense.

As the party of the larger financial interests, they are especially interested in a better price for gold, complete relaxation of the remaining controls, and an all-out return to free enterprise. They are particularly against what they call government by bureaucracy and order-in-council, with inadequate control by Parliament. Undoubtedly, the Progressive Conservatives have shown a great deal of vigor this year, and feel more confident than they have for many years. But have they the popular support, and the national support, they need to make a comeback as a really great party? They are a middle of the road party—so are the Liberals—though one veers sharply to the right where the other goes to the left. Thus the issues between them are not clear-cut, but are, in many cases, confined to questions of detail and procedure. For example, many farmers are hit by the loss of British food contracts, since Britain cannot pay in dollars and is not able to send Canada enough of the things she wishes to buy. The Conservatives hope to capitalize on this discontent, but they suggest no solution, since barter deals are anathema to their economic doctrines and Britain is certainly short of dollars.

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THE CCF is the Socialist party of Canada and has a great deal of support from labor, although it is not the official party of the unions in the same way as the British Labor Party. The present discontent with the high cost of living, the unfortunate effects of inflation on fixed incomes, and the still acute housing shortage have been of real advantage to them. Before the war they were a small group without much influence; now they control the provincial government in Saskatchewan and have steadily added to their number in the House of Commons in the by-elections, ending with some thirty members.

Mr. M. J. Coldwell was re-elected their leader at their biennial convention last summer, a post he has held for some years. He is an intellectual, an excellent speaker, and very much on the right wing of his party. The interesting news of that convention was the platform, in which they attempted to outline a policy for their first term in office.

The planks submitted had been worked out by the national executive, but some of them turned out to be unacceptable to a large and very vocal

left-wing, which is not only Socialist but perilously close to Communist. The two most hotly debated issues were the foreign policy plank praising ERP, and the domestic issue of the ownership of the banks. The left-wing of the party disapproved of the Marshall Plan and wished to condemn it, and only the exercise of all the strength and persuasiveness of the national leaders succeeded in passing the original resolution. Although the CCF members in the House of Commons joined in the approval of the Atlantic Pact and voted for adherence to it, the British Columbia CCFers from this same left-wing spoke bitterly against it in a recent provincial convention.

On the domestic side, this same radical group succeeded in passing a resolution requiring the taking-over, not only of the Bank of Canada, but of all of the chartered banks of the country during the CCF's first term of office—this against the outspoken objections of the national leaders and T. C. Douglas, Premier of Saskatchewan and the only member with actual administrative experience. The CCF stands, of course, for the nationalization of industries and the control of prices by consumer subsidies and government regulation, as well as greatly increased social services and government subsidized housing. They would like to see most foreign trade handled by government boards.

THE APPEAL of the 336 has been mainly to the urban worker and to a fringe of intellectuals, a fact which was particularly evident in the last Ontario provincial election in which the CCF replaced the Liberals as the official Opposition by taking most of the Toronto and Hamilton seats. They have made no inroads whatsoever into the province of Quebec, except perhaps in Montreal, for the French Canadian is innately conservative. They have little strength in the Maritimes except in the coal mining areas of Cape Breton. In the West, despite their success in Saskatchewan, the pattern is the same. The CCF seems to have lost ground in the past year and certainly could not form a government; it is likely to garner a large floating protest vote against the postwar dislocations. Will this dissatisfaction be enough to bring them into the next Parliament as the official Opposition, or even cause a three-cornered tie, leaving no one party a majority?

How tired are the people of the government in power? What will happen in the key province of Quebec? Will the Conservatives' hopes there be justified, or will French pride in seeing a native son Prime Minister of the country have the effect which the Liberals hope? Which way will the new province of Newfoundland swing in her first Canadian election? These are the big questions in Canada today.

A Program for Tolerance

The ten points of Seelisberg—the Christian conscience examines itself on anti-Semitism

John Cogley

IT IS TO the credit of the modern liberal, secularist mind that it was disgusted, revolted and profoundly moved by the murderous anti-Semitism of the last decade. It reacted with all the spiritual fury and energy of which it was capable, before and during World War II. Since the end of the war a rash of "tolerance" novels, plays and movies have continued the good fight in America. And this, I suppose, is all on the credit side, too, though the critics, applying an artistic yardstick, may have some small reservations.

But when one considers the enormity of the Nazi blood-carnival, it never ceases to be amazing that the Christian conscience has been so slightly disturbed. The moral fury of Christians, with our spirit-awareness and exalted notion of human dignity, one might have thought, would

be such as to make the outrage of humanitarians seem like timid annoyance. Such has not been the case.

I know that I have never heard a single sermon on the evil of anti-Semitism, before, during or since the war. And an experienced priest tells me that he can recall no instance of hearing the sin mentioned in a confessional. If you look through the files of Catholic publications during the last ten years, with some notable exceptions, you will find anti-Semitism, here and abroad, dealt with moderately—as if hating Jews were only a lesser evil in a world of Communists, birth-controllers and Hollywood divorcees.

Yet the most damning thing that can be said of anti-Semitism is that it is a sin; therein lies its *essential* evil. It is, above all, a moral matter. There are important and disastrous economic,

political and social effects, of course. But it is as a moral and religious question that anti-Semitism (to think there could be a single word to give meaning to those piled-up bodies!) must be finally judged and dealt with.

To fight sin with slogans is like trying to win an atomic war with sticks and stones. One admires the effort but holds out little hope for victory.

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SOME TIME ago a Harvard professor, disturbed by the appalling divorce-rate in the US, hit on the idea of popularizing marital stability through the methods employed in selling aspirin and cigarettes. The anti-divorce program he outlined included all the apparatus of big-time advertising: billboards, match-books, full-page four-color ads in the mass-circulation magazines, perhaps spot announcements on the air. The moralist, left with no conscience to appeal to, grows desperate.

The present publicists' campaign against anti-Semitism, it seems to me, is being conducted at about the same level as the professor's scheme and has just about as much chance to succeed. Fighting anti-semitism is properly the job of the Christian pulpit, home, classroom and confessional. Whatever help is given by the press, the publishing house or theater should be gratefully received as a valuable subsidiary. But it is religion alone that can make the final and effective appeal to conscience. Since anti-Semitism is essentially an evil in the moral and spiritual order—a point that has been made eloquently by Jacques Maritain, Fr. Henri de Lubac and Monsignor Grabmann, among others—it is in that sphere that it must be primarily combatted.

It is not enough to be anti-anti-Semitic. This state, too often characteristic of the frantic activity of tolerance groups, has the dark and limited appeal of shadows. It is like being anti-adultery after one has given up belief in marriage. The Christian program will be, necessarily, pro-Jewish, not only in the general sense that the Christian is pro-any group of men, but in the specific sense that Pius XI referred to when he said, "Spiritually, we are Semites . . ."

★

SUCH A PROGRAM was drawn up in 1947 for the assembled Catholic and Protestant members of the International Council of Christians and Jews meeting at Seelisberg, Switzerland. It has since become known as the Ten Points of Seelisberg.

The program is directed particularly to Christian clergymen, teachers, parents and all who might find themselves in the position of giving religious instruction. I wish that it had been pub-

lished years ago for the guidance of teachers. There may still be a few religious teachers who could profit by reading it. Certainly it is a good guide for the conscientious mother or father who is intent on keeping children safe, as far as possible, from the poison of anti-Semitism.

★

Here is the program as published this fall in the French quarterly *L'Amitié judéo-chrétienne*:

1. To call to mind that it is the same living God who speaks to us in the Old Testament as in the New.

2. To call to mind that Jesus was born of a Jewish virgin of the house of David and of the people of Israel, and that His eternal love and forgiveness embrace His own people and the entire world.

3. To call to mind that the first disciples, the apostles and the first martyrs were Jews.

4. To call to mind that the fundamental precept of Christianity, love of God and of neighbor, was first promulgated in the Old Testament and then confirmed by Jesus, and that it obliges both Christians and Jews in all their relations with one another.

5. To avoid depreciating Judaism, either biblical or post-biblical, in order to exalt Christianity. (Here it is not meant that the Christian should look upon both religions as equal, but rather that undue and unnecessary comparisons are odious.)

6. To avoid using the word "Jew" in the exclusive sense of "enemy of Jesus" and of using the phrase "enemies of Jesus" to designate the whole Jewish people.

7. To avoid presenting the Passion in such a way that loathing for the manner of Jesus' death falls on the Jews alone. It was not only the Jews who were responsible for the Cross, but all of us. Because of the sins of *all* men Christ died. (This, the committee warns, is especially important for parents and teachers of young children. Among youngsters, there is always the psychological danger that their love of the Savior and their horror of the Crucifixion will be expressed in ugly feelings towards the persecutors of Our Lord, whom, in childish fashion, they are liable to identify with their own Jewish neighbors. The *universal* guilt should be stressed and re-stressed, for this as well as for other reasons.)

8. To avoid reporting the Scriptural curse and the cry of an excited crowd: "His blood be upon us and our children," without also calling attention to the fact that this cry could not prevail against the infinitely more powerful prayer of Jesus: "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do."

9. To discredit the unholy opinion that the Jewish people have been cast off (from God's

love), cursed and therefore destined to suffer.

10. To avoid speaking of the Jews as if Jews were not the very earliest members of the Church.

The commission which drew up this program, presided over by the Reverend Callistus Lopinot, a Franciscan priest stationed in Rome, closed its statement with the words of St. Paul. "... in His elective purpose He still welcomes them, for the sake of their fathers; God does not repent of the gifts He makes, or of the calls He issues." (Romans 11:28-29.)

The Labor Movement

JOHN CORT, who is presently ill, is on a temporary leave of absence from THE COMMONWEAL. During this time, The Labor Movement column will be written by Francis Downing, a former instructor at Fordham University and elsewhere, who is perhaps best known to COMMONWEAL readers as a literary critic.

In recent months Mr. Downing has been the educational director for that part of the CIO—United Automobile Workers' program which covers the northeastern states.

Why Liquidate the Reuther Brothers?

OVERRIDING all labor news is the attack on Victor Reuther's life. For it indicates the continued presence of gangsterism invading the labor movement. It means, too, that Victor and Walter Reuther will move and work in literal and pervasive peril of their lives.

When Walter Reuther was shot he attributed the attempt on his life to a crackpot, management or the Communists. It seems clear to him and to me now that management was not involved in it. Given the character and pattern of both assaults it seems clear that it was no crackpot. These attempted murders have about them a professional character, a plotting, a purpose, a design that rules out the merely crazed. Here is the use of a gun for hire.

Why hire a gun to liquidate the Reuther brothers? Obviously they have meaning in American life. It is important to someone that this meaning forever and swiftly be destroyed.

The Reuthers are highly literate, intelligent, imaginative and are well at ease with ideas. In the American labor movement—as in the rest of life—these possessions are not regarded as undangerous. The Reuthers, in consequence, have disturbed a good many people; it is still fashionable among the orthodox, the myopic and the pathetically articulate to regard them as Communists. It is, unhappily, a loose word, loosely used by loose minds.

Another word which applies to them is "dangerous." This is a word which used to be applied to President Roosevelt, or to Professor Felix Frankfurter, to Archibald McLeish, to John Maynard Keynes. It ranks with "Socialist," and has no meaning but is an easy and undefined defense, and it comforts sloth.

In 1947, for example, when Walter Reuther was tes-

tifying before the Senate Labor Committee he advocated what he called "a full employment, full-production economy."

The then Senator Ball asked Mr. Reuther if we did not *then have* full employment. Mr. Reuther replied that full employment by itself was not enough but that workers required sufficient wages to buy back the products of our industry. He suggested that workers would not judge free enterprise by its promises but that we must gear our "tremendous productive machine to meet the needs of the people in peace just as we mobilized it to meet the needs of the nation in war."

And Senator Ball said: "In other words, you are advocating a socialist economy for the United States."

Walter Reuther denied this. But I know many places where the Geiger counters have not registered this fact.

★

IT IS OBVIOUSLY the belief of the Reuthers that there is constantly exhibited in our centers of control an amazing carelessness about the human results of our economic system. They believe that this carelessness so reveals itself that men are seriously afraid of a new depression. It reveals itself in a profit system too fantastic to have meaning to most of us.

It reveals itself in worker insecurity which is different than the insecurity prior to the advent of industrial unions, but no less frightening. And that is why welfare plans are part of the auto union's demands in 1949.

The Reuthers are aware too that what might be regarded as normal unionism is not a fact in the auto industry—that collective bargaining is a continuation really of the organizational process.

I am not suggesting that management has any part in the attack on the Reuther brothers. But the process of collective bargaining here is different than it is, say, in clothing or coal. For memories are different. And these memories are alive and tend to shape relationships. I quote here some dialogue between Mr. Reuther and Senator Ives and Senator Taft, before the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Mr. Reuther refers, here, to an episode in his life connected with the UAW: CIO's attempt, in 1940, to organize the Ford River Rouge plant.

Mr. Reuther: "My fear is based upon the fact that I have been pushed around."

Senator Ives: "I understand that."

Mr. Reuther: "When I sit down across the table from management, I cannot help but remember that they hired gangsters to break into my home and paid them so much to destroy my right to live. I know all these things, because I have lived these things. They broke into my own home. We have never tried to break into management's houses and bump them off."

Senator Ives: "You will have to admit one thing, and that is that the attitude of management today is a thousand per cent better than it was in 1935 or 1937 on the whole."

Mr. Reuther: "The resistance to collective bargaining

is a great deal less. I think that we have made progress in some spots."

Senator Ives: "We have."

Mr. Reuther: "Unfortunately, in the centers of control, we have made little progress."

"I would like to go on to another phase."

The Chairman: "May I ask a question? You charge people with burglary and assault. Were those people prosecuted?"

Mr. Reuther: "They were."

The Chairman: "And, put in jail? I mean, do you have the record on it?"

Mr. Reuther: "The record is in Detroit, if you want it. They admitted they did these things."

The Chairman: "Which company was it?"

Mr. Reuther: "The Ford Motor Company."

Senator Ball: "Was it proved on the company? Was it proved in the courts that the Company hired them?"

Mr. Reuther: "I will say this: One of the people who broke into my home—this was before we had a contract with the Ford Motor Company—called me up after we had a contract with the Ford Motor Company, and I was not available, and he spoke to my younger brother and said, 'This is so-and-so calling.' He said: 'I would like to invite you out to dinner now.'"

"My brother said, 'I want nothing to do with you.'"

"He said, 'Well, look, I was just hired to do that job. It was nothing personal. And, I would like to take you out now because we have been told we have got to live with you fellows now.'"

"These are facts. This is the background of our industry. That is why people worry about what happens in Washington, because it does affect them back home."

★

THE REUTHERS have extended unionism into many areas of life not usually regarded as its province. They do not believe, as does the Dean of Harvard Business School, that an effective stabilizing life is found in the plants.

They wish the union to be much more than a wage getting instrument. They are as aware as any of the atomic and impersonal character of our society. And they are engaged in restoring dignity and meaning to man. I would go so far as to say that, among other things, they want unions to be the core of an industrial democracy, which is a phrase much used but largely an aspiration. Yet the auto union is realizing it.

An American sociologist, C. M. W. Hart, has written this about the UAW in Windsor, Canada: "Instead of going into Dean Donham's beautiful plants to find the more satisfactory and stabilized life, the worker, or at least the auto worker, has gone into the union hall. There, within his union, he is finding his own ways of building a more satisfying social life; and when he looks out at the social chaos that is Windsor, he does not run for help into the Ford plant or the Chrysler plant, rather he calls upon his union to undertake the job of cleaning up that social chaos and rebuilding the community along more satisfying lines."

It is impossible, it seems to me, to separate the contributions of Walter and Victor Reuther from this kind of social and communal rejuvenation. For it is the business of an educational director of a labor union to affect in these ways the minds of men.

It is implicit in all I have said that political and social transformation, as well as economic advancement, are part of the ideas and purposes of the Reuthers.

And even if the Reuthers had not so obviously and so vehemently made effective war on the Communists in the labor movement here and abroad, this kind of purpose—sincerely clung to and fulfillable and fulfilled—constitutes the single and most dramatic and effective challenge to Communism.

I do not know who shot Victor Reuther. One of the awful things about the shooting is that it seems to be part of a pattern of violence in the labor movement, more largely characterized by violence than the labor movement in any other country. I cannot be convinced that this last attack is merely a personal assault on a gentle and compassionate man. The Reuther family seems marked. Already two of them are permanently maimed. And in a sense the labor movement has been maimed. And until the attackers are caught, the Reuthers and the movement are in jeopardy. Men dedicated to the enrichment of man will lead imperiled lives.

I do not know, I repeat, nor cannot guess. But that the attempted murders have the meaning I have seen, and are implicated in the background I have sketched, are as clear to me as day.

FRANCIS DOWNING.

Communications

Franco-German Relations

State College, Penn.

TO THE Editors: If you think the problem of Franco-German relations merits any more of your readers' attention, may I clarify my position?

My purpose in attacking the popular notion that Germany thrice invaded France in one-hundred years, presumably without provocation (COMMONWEAL, May 6 Communications), had a higher motive than simply of setting a misconception aright. Whether Germany did or did not is much more than an academic question.

We are preparing to write a peace treaty. We hope this one will endure longer than the last. The correct approach to the writing of a just peace is not that of holding up the defeated power as an incorrigible aggressor, to say nothing of distorting history in the process. For when one speaks of aggression, let he who is without guilt make the first charge. The German Foreign Office of the thirties could hardly have taught Richelieu, Louis XIV, or Napoleon anything they did not already know in the matter of Machiavellian statecraft. Even the Englishman will admit that the British Empire attained its enormous proportions through methods not always peaceful, while from a moral point of view the growth of our own country was not an entirely healthy process.

One of the reasons why a hundred years elapsed between the Congress of Vienna and World War I with no major international conflict intervening was the fact that France came away from Vienna not a pariah but a partner—despite the long history of French aggression, several hundred years of it in fact, France was permitted to retain her frontiers and her self-respect. And it is worth noting that in spite of what contemporaries must have considered to be an innate predilection for aggression, France since 1815 has been an essentially quiescent country. It is possible that German history may take a similar turn. What tempered French aggressiveness was the rise of Germany. May not the rise of an industrialized Russia have the same effect upon Germany?

May the peace-makers of today not leave behind them the irritants and injustices that at Versailles bred Hitler and World War II. If they do we may not have even a twenty-year respite before the next conflagration, for Germany may decide to throw in her lot with Russia. There should be no place, however small, at the peace table for vindictiveness. One of the reasons why God has warned us "Revenge is Mine" is because He knows what a mess we make when we act in that spirit. Have we learned that lesson?

JOSEPH DAHMUS,
History Department,
Pennsylvania State College

CARE and Charity

WE FEEL very grateful indeed to the writer of the following letter. In accordance with her desire not to publicize or display an act of charity, we are withholding complete identification.—THE EDITORS.

Saint Louis 3, Missouri

TO THE Editors: I'm sure all the saints of heaven would shudder to think of a person doing an act of charity and then writing a magazine editor, even if a Catholic magazine editor, to tell him about it, and yet this is precisely what I am doing.

We read in the May twenty-seventh issue of your magazine of the appeals from abroad and were immediately inspired to send at least one CARE package to these needy nuns. Since there are only three of us in this office, none of us financially affluent, ten dollars seemed like a great sum until we got dollars from a few associates and friends. People gave immediately and generously—or promised more later. In one day we had ten dollars; in two days, fifteen. We have sent one package or rather, have written to CARE about it and hope to get another off by next week.

I said at the start that the saints would shudder, but I'm really sure they won't because this is not to pat our own charitableness on the back—it is to thank you for calling this need to our mind and making us realize how easy it is to help. We want you to know someone read and heeded your appeal. We only hope others did too.

Thank you for helping us to help the Helpers of the Holy Souls!

E. J. C.

National Health

Stayton, Oregon.

TO THE Editors: It would be well for Mr. Charles [in his letter in the May 27 COMMONWEAL, favoring President Truman's National Health Program] and those who advocate Compulsory Health Insurance to consider not twice but many times before pushing their measures. If their plans succeed, medical students may not be ambitious enough to test their newly acquired medical knowledge, if they acquire any at all.

Their object presumably is to bring more good medical attention to more people. Some people do not want that kind of attention because they do not come to get it when they get it free.

Outside of good medical training and conscientiousness there is no better way to insure good practice than by the personal patient-doctor relationship. He who pays the doctor directly has the most influence over him.

Putting doctors on government payroll, hobbling them with red tape, triples their work. This will not attract new men into practice and it will overload those already in it. Ask the men, medical and enlisted, who were in the service. I was an enlisted man in one war.

You will be setting up a perfect machine for the politicians. Philanthropists, good physicians certainly must be and they do not fit in with politicians. When the politicians make hirelings of the medical men, personal responsibility goes.

THEODORE STUCKART, M.D.
Physician and Surgeon.

The Screen

And Smell Like Camels

MOST OF OUR new violence-and-action films take place in the wild west where men are men and where Technicolor makes the gorgeous scenery look more colorful if not more beautiful. The trend, as evidenced in several of these movies, is to portray the women as tough as men; so if you like that sort of thing, here's several samples to choose from. I don't think you'll have to drop whatever interesting thing you were doing, however, to hurry to a cinema palace.

The Beautiful Blond from Bashful Bend is a satire that kids the whole field. Written, produced and directed by Preston Sturges, it is a typical Sturges opus complete with high burlesque, low slapstick and a cynical attitude toward men's obvious weaknesses. With her usual gusto and gams, Betty Grable plays a sure-shot dance-hall girl who poses as a school teacher after escaping from jail. Well loaded with *doubles entendres*, this bawdy comedy will appeal to those who like pretty dames and raucous humor.

The Younger Brothers goes out of its way to exculpate these famous outlaws. As played by Wayne Morris, Bruce Bennett, James Brown and Robert Hutton, the boys do seem to have some noble ideas about becoming farmers in Missouri, but their intentions are sidetracked

by the glamorous leader (Janis Paige) of another gang and by the villainy of a revengeful detective (Fred Clark). There's plenty of rough riding and shooting, but one's sympathies are luke warm.

Streets of Laredo follows a similar pattern with Macdonald Carey, William Holden and William Bendix as bandits who pull off a couple of slick jobs. When Carey is thrown into the clink, the other two join the Texas Rangers to get him out; then conversion sets in and they go straight. Carey finally proves the real villain of the piece; and he and Holden fight it out. Mona Freeman, as the girl involved, becomes more and more feminine as the plot gets rougher and rougher.

Tulsa gives Susan Hayward a chance to be tough, and she makes the most of it in this drama of skullduggery among the oil wells. The plot gets awfully complicated, but the action includes some good fisticuffs and a remarkable scene of flaming wells. Pedro Armendariz portrays the noble redskin who suffers through the white man's greed, and Robert Preston is sufficiently brawny as the engineer with a few ideas on conservation of resources.

Canadian Pacific has some magnificent scenery, but its silly plot won't let us believe that this is the way any railroad was built. Randolph Scott and Jane Wyatt struggle valiantly with situations and dialogue that fits only into the hiss-the-villain school. Its manly fights and love-ly shots of the Canadian Rockies don't compensate for the plot.

Red Stallion in the Rockies gets pretty talky for an outdoor picture, but it has its big moments, particularly in the animal episodes. Wallace Ford and Arthur Franz portray a couple of circus men, temporarily working on a ranch, who finally capture the stallion that has been wrecking crops and barns in these parts. The acting and story are aimed at younger audiences, but the fight between the stallion and an elk (named Hannibal) may thrill even their elders.

Red Canyon has a similar theme with Howard Duff and Ann Blyth chasing a wild stallion in Utah. They chase each other too; and there is considerable taming all around before the finale. The script is based on a Zane Grey novel and gets quite involved; but the outdoor stuff is relaxing at this time of year, especially if you can forget how men mess up the scenery.

The Big Cat is also set in Utah, but this time a cougar is the object of the hunt. Because of the depression (1932) and drought and other afflictions, the big cat is preying on farmers' livestock. Preston Foster and Lon McCallister are the principal pursuers, but a lot of mean hillbillies are in on the deal too; and as far as I could make out man is as intent on hurting man as he is anxious to kill the cougar. Although the human fights are rather vicious, the story and action in this living-with-nature film has a lot of appeal. You can take your kids and household pets.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

Catholic International News

Bonn Constitution and the Concordat

THE UNEXPECTED visit to Rome of Michael Cardinal Faulhaber, Archbishop of Munich and Freising and highest-ranking member of the German Hierarchy, has given rise to widespread speculation in Roman circles. It is generally believed that the 80-year-old Cardinal came at the special request of Pope Pius XII to report about the background of the new Constitution for Western Germany adopted by the Parliamentary Council at Bonn and proclaimed in effect May 23.

The German Concordat of 1933 and the rights of the parents in education were among the most controversial issues in the Bonn discussions. The Vatican as well as the German Hierarchy showed great interest in the deliberations concerning these two matters. In a letter recently addressed to the German Cardinals, the Pope himself declared that he had been watching developments "with grave concern." In the same letter he stated: "Those who want to exclude religious freedom and education from the Constitution are supporting a governmental system which denies natural religious rights. . . ."

As early as February, at a meeting held at Cologne, Cardinal Frings, Archbishop of Cologne, quoted from a letter which he had received from the Vatican Secretariat of State concerning the question of the validity of the Concordat. "The Concordat was concluded in a valid manner with a Government whose legal character could not be formally denied," the letter stated. "If recognition of the Concordat were to be refused now, this would be an obvious injustice against the Catholics in Germany and a grave insult against the Holy See, which signed the Concordat with the intention of defending Christian principles and the rights of the Church against the dangers inherent in National Socialism."

A majority of the Bonn Parliamentary Council refused to insert formal recognition of the Reich Concordat in the Constitution and to give more than rather vague assurances concerning parents' rights in education. The Social Democrats who led the opposition against the Concordat argued that it was impossible to give formal recognition to a treaty concluded under the Nazi regime. (Rome, 5/25—CIP.)

Church Aids German Housing

THE BUILDING of homes for the homeless has become one of the principal concerns of the Bishops, clergy and Catholic lay organizations in Western Germany:

Cardinal Frings, Archbishop of Cologne, has made

31,250 acres of Church land available for home building. In the city of Cologne, the Catholic Laymen's Committee established April 26 a Catholic Building Organization. It has undertaken to repair houses damaged in the war and to help in the building of low-rent housing. An appeal has been launched, urging all local Catholics to contribute one hour's wages every month.

In Herdorf, a town on the Sieg River, Father Gilbert Corman, O.P., was instrumental in starting a project for building 130 homes by arranging with the employers of the men concerned for a plan under which they will work 8 extra hours every month and the amount of the extra wages will be deposited in their account with the building fund. Father Corman and Professor Karl Stodieck, a Catholic lay leader at Godesberg, are now busy with preparations for the application of plan in other localities.

Archibishop Lorenz Jaeger of Paderborn ordered a special collection for the Catholic Homebuilding Organization to be held in all churches. He issued a pastoral letter declaring: "Every Christian has the moral duty to do his share in this matter. Places of amusement, movie houses, bars, etc., are being built, because Christians carry their money to these places, in spite of the tragic distress of their neighbors. At the present time, even the purchase of church bells or expensive church organs as well as the decoration of churches should be postponed because priority must be given to the building of homes." (New York, 5/28—CIP.)

Germany's 12 Million Refugees

AFTER MANY unsuccessful efforts, American and British authorities in Germany have succeeded in obtaining the French Military Government's consent for a plan allowing 29,000 families of "expellees" from the East to settle in the French Zone. These families, who have been given temporary shelter in the American and British Zones, represent a total of about 120,000. Another 180,000 persons will be permitted to settle in the French Zone later, under conditions which have not yet been worked out, it has been announced officially.

On January 1, the American and British Zones of Germany numbered about 8.5 million refugees of various kinds. There were an estimated 4 million refugees in the Soviet Zone, but only about 250,000 in the French Zone.

The principal problem is that of the approximately 11.5 million Germans and persons of German ancestry expelled from Poland and Czechoslovakia and from the territories East of the Oder and Neisse Rivers. Most of these territories have been annexed by Poland; the Eastern part of East Prussia has been incorporated in the Soviet Union.

In addition to these "expellees," there are in the Western Zones about 800,000 "evacuees" from the Soviet Zone and Berlin. These are persons who normally reside in the Soviet occupation zone but are either unable or unwilling to return there. Finally, there are still about 750,000 "foreigners" in Germany, including Displaced Persons under the care of the International Refugee Organization. (Cologne, 5/14 CIP.)

Of Note

Spiritual Elements in Hospital Care

THE Annual Convention of the Catholic Hospital Association of the United States and Canada will be held at St. Louis June 13 to 16; its theme is "Meeting the Crisis in Health Care." In presenting this theme, *Hospital Progress*, official organ of the association (1438 South Grand Boulevard, St. Louis 4, Missouri) emphasizes the important aspects of a voluntary approach to the problem. Chief of these are the religious and spiritual elements in hospital service which will be discussed in the general session June 15. According to *Hospital Progress*:

... The care of the poor has always been a chief concern of the Church. The Church's interest in the medical care of the indigent has in modern times been channeled to a great extent through the Catholic hospitals. This type of medical care is most important not only in solving a large social problem but for the religious morale and spirit of a Catholic institution. A hospital will not long retain its character of a religious institution if it surrenders its charitable activities to welfare agencies. The care of the poor has brought blessings to our hospitals in the past. This traditional activity must not be impaired in the future lest we lose something that is more valuable than professional excellence.

The full Christian spirit of a hospital extends further than just to the indigent. It should affect also the manner in which we render care to or provide care for all people who wish to come to our hospitals. The procurement of adequate hospital care is also a problem for many who are not indigent. Hospital costs and costs of medical care frequently seriously embarrass people and families who are able to meet all other demands in life. They are not prepared and cannot prepare without help to face the crisis or catastrophe of serious and prolonged illness.

In the final general session emphasis will be placed on the adequacy of hospital facilities to meet the needs of the people. While the United States has the best medical and hospital facilities in the world, many people find themselves unable to avail themselves of these facilities because they cannot afford them. The Catholic hospitals will be most anxious to study the best methods of making these services available to all the American people.

A Third Way: Co-ownership

THE ACTIVITIES of the British Liberal and Labor parties preparatory to next year's election have brought to the fore the question of the ideal system of ownership. In recent years the Liberal Party has in fact had for its slogan, "Ownership for All." Both parties have recently published pamphlets on the subject. In the May 14 *Catholic Herald* (67 Fleet Street, London E.C.4,

England) Paul Derrick offers Co-ownership as an alternative both to Capitalism and to Socialism and commends the Liberals for its espousal:

Basically the Liberal proposals are simple enough; they suggest that labour should have the legal right to share in profits as soon as capital has received a return of 3 per cent or so and also the legal right to be represented on Boards of Directors. Apart from this they would allow for the greatest variety in different schemes; their pamphlet makes it clear at the outset that they have no intention of trying to impose the same kind of scheme throughout industry. The fact that every industrial firm employing more than 50 persons would be required to prepare some kind of scheme might reduce the paternalism and the Trade Union suspicions which are apt to be associated with even the best schemes introduced on the initiative of the employer.

In considering these proposals we should remember in the first place that they form part of the Liberal "Ownership for All" policy which is specifically designed to achieve a more equitable distribution of property, an aim which is very much in conformity with Catholic teaching. . . .

The Conservative and Labour parties both say they oppose monopoly and want to help the small man, and the former at least want to extend home ownership. We are all distributists now; the distinctive feature of Liberal policy lies in the Co-ownership proposals. How far can these be said to be an application of Catholic teaching?

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We should, in the first place, remember that these co-ownership proposals have a great deal in common with suggestions for a return to a Guild social order which have been made by Catholic sociologists since the days of Bishop Kettler, de Mun and La Tour du Pin.

Under them the worker would become a member of a producing group, as in the old Guilds, instead of simply a hired labourer. La Tour du Pin, in *Vers un Ordre Social Chrétien* puts forward ideas which are in many ways very similar to those underlying the Liberal co-ownership proposals. These ideas are also developed by Pius XI in *Quadragesimo Anno* when he refers to modifying the wage-relationship and to Vocational Groups.

"We deem it advisable," he writes, "that the wage-relationship should, when possible, be modified by a contract of partnership, as is already being tried in various ways to the no small gain of both the wage-earners and of the employers. In this way wage-earners and other employees participate in the ownership or the management or in some way share in the profits."

He goes on later to speak of Vocational Groups. "The primary duty of the state is to abolish disputes between opposing classes and create and foster harmony between vocational groups. The aim of social

policy must therefore be the re-establishment of vocational groups. . . . As things are now the wage system divides men on what is called the labour market into two sections. . . . There cannot be any question of any perfect cure unless this opposition be done away with and well-organized members of the social body be constituted, vocational groupings claiming the allegiance of men according to the diverse functions which they exercise in society. . . . Such a bond of union is provided by the production of goods or the rendering of services in which employers and employees of one and the same vocational group collaborate."

The Ultimate Offensive

LEO J. TRESE

SO-CALLED "escape" literature is enjoying a bull market today. An analgesic flood of detective-mysteries is pouring from a hundred presses. Religio-inspirational books are breaking through into the ranks of best-sellers in unprecedented numbers. All of us above the age of seven are suffering from a vague uneasiness. We live in an age of political and social flux; our foreboding is the more discomforting because we cannot localize the threat to our comfort and complacency.

It is not only in literature that we seek escape. We try to find security in solidarity, and so we organize and we join. Betterment groups increase and multiply, from interracial councils and trade unionist associations down to the neighborhood improvement clubs. All of them are praiseworthy in aim, but none is an effective substitute for the far more radical thing that is missing.

Even in religion the search for certainty amid instability evidences itself. Mindful of our Holy Father's warning in *Mediator Dei* that in prayer, whatever is, is good, we yet cannot escape the significance of the multiplication and popularity of novenas and devotions, and the eager turning to every new type of scapular, rosary, or medal that presents itself. Again, they are all to be welcomed, but meringue alone will not make a pie.

The thing that is missing, of course—the thing from which we all carefully keep our eyes averted because of its apparent price—the thing that is missing is an all-consuming *love for God*, a love that will express itself in a reckless attachment to His Will; in joyous detachment and self-denial; in a hunger for the Mass and the sacraments. It is in such a love, and only there, that we shall find the peace, the security, the stability, which we seek so feverishly by making ancillaries into substitutes.

★

WHEN THE Sacred Heart appeared at Paray-le-Monial, it was with no weighty social message that He came; it was of Love and prayer and reparation

that He spoke to Margaret Mary. The same theme was the burden of all Our Lady's apparitions at Lourdes and at Fatima and everywhere else she has appeared or has been reputed to have appeared. She has not wasted time inveighing against racial discrimination or social injustice; she has not spoken of leftists nor dictators; she has not even urged the use of the missal and the Mass in the vernacular. Only of prayer and penance has she talked—of prayer and penance as the source and expression of Love.

It is the same story with the Saints. Peter Claver has left no recorded word against the inhumanities of slavery, but with his own mouth he sucked the ulcers of the slaves. Francis of Assisi pointed no finger of doom at the luxuries of the rich, but he became the poorest of the poor himself. And St. John Vianney, although his native France boiled with political ferment, did not talk of Presidents or Emperors or Kings. Robespierre rose and fell, Napoleon rose and fell, the monarchy revived and receded, but through it all John Vianney talked only of Love and Sin and prayer and penance.

★

St. John Vianney is better known to the world as the beloved Curé of Ars. The authoritative biography of him, written by Abbé Francis Trochu and first published in 1927, has just been issued in a new impression by the Newman Press. (*The Curé d'Ars. Abbé Francis Trochu. Translated by Dom Ernest Graf, O.S.B. Newman. \$5.50.*) It makes easy and absorbing reading. I know, because my housekeeper, not addicted to heavy literature, has been trying to read it by snatches between my own perusals.

It is the story of a man who seemed too mentally muscle-bound ever to make the grade to the priesthood, even in a France which sorely needed priests. It is the story of a seminarian whose goodness left his bishop no choice but to raise him to the priesthood. It is the story of a priest who transformed his own village and a goodly part of France by his sermons written within sight of the sanctuary lamp, and by his long hours in the confessional. But above all by his love, his flaming love for Christ, and his hatred for sin as a barrier to that love.

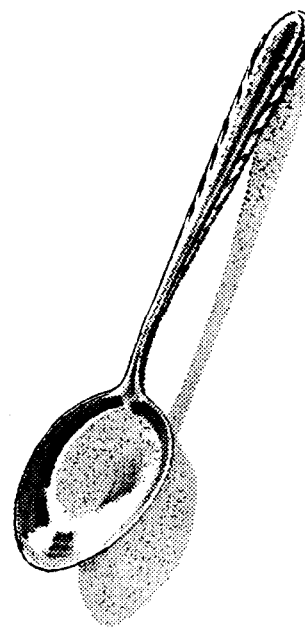
Father John Vianney found Ars a neglected village in which faith had declined to a near-paganism. Work on Sundays was as common as on week-days, and resulted in widespread disregard for religious duties. There were four taverns in this hamlet of two hundred and thirty souls. Even the children were skilled in the fluent use of blasphemy. Public dances were the recognized preludes to sinful trysts. If ever there was a parish that seemed to cry out for an athletic club and a women's society and a Boy Scout troop and a Campfire group, surely it was Ars. But it was to the counterpart of none of these things that the Curé turned. Under God he got to work with a preaching that nothing could withstand, because it was informed by prayer and suffering.

There was the suffering he inflicted upon himself—as much in the absent-mindedness of his love as by intent.

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There was the suffering inflicted upon him by his enemies—the young men robbed of their mistresses, the old soaks robbed of their brandy, the calumny that he was the father of a brat born to a village girl. There was the suffering too inflicted upon him by the devil, who in desperation ranted at the Curé through the few hours he allowed himself in bed, and tossed him about on the mattress until the saint dragged himself wearily back to church.

★

ST. JOHN VIANNEY preached, but he used the direct approach too. As when he collared a farmer hiding behind a haystack on Sunday, and said, "You can hide from me, but you can't hide from God!" Or as when he waylaid the fiddler, and paid him twice his usual fee to go back home, so that there would be no dance. Or when he asked the tavern-keeper how much he made on Sunday, and paid him double the amount in return for keeping closed. Not that the Curé was rich; but he had no need of money for himself. He ate cold boiled potatoes (when he thought of it) and let the wind blow through his frayed and mended soutane.

Through all its five hundred and eighty pages this epic of sainthood has all the enthralling elements of fiction. There is plot and there are villains and there is conflict. And in the end, conflict is resolved and there is peace and triumph. It is the triumph of the harvester come home with his arms laden with sheaves. Sinners weep and unbelievers bend their knees before the altar, as all the world beats a path to the confessional of the man who was supposedly too dumb to be ordained.

St. John Vianney is the patron saint of parish priests. He is a patron who especially needs looking to in these days of stress. The average pastor, conscious of worldliness and lackadaisical Christianity in his parish, is confused by the competing claims of all the spiritual panaceas that proffer themselves as the one sure remedy. In his confusion he can surrender to frustration, or he can turn to the Curé of Ars.

We have need of everything that is good and useful. We have need of novenas and rosary crusades and Cana conferences. We have need of "labor priests" and "Catholic Action priests" and "liturgical-minded priests." But above all we have need of holy priests. We shall have them in proportion as we have holy homes from which they will come. Priests do not spring ready-made from the ground. They are formed and orientated, as was John Vianney, at the hearthside of their parents. It was in the saintliness of his own father and mother, in their all-embracing charity, that John Vianney's own saintliness took root and flourished.

The Curé d'Ars is good reading. It is unexcelled escape-reading because it re-emphasizes that there is an escape, and it points the way. It seems a hard way, and yet St. John Vianney left his parish a far happier place than he found it. In any case it is the only effective way, it is our ultimate offensive.

Books

Hunter's Horn. Harriette Arnow. Macmillan. \$3.50.

THE BALLEW family's harsh struggle for existence in some remote Kentucky hills takes place almost without a contact with the world outside. When crops shrivel up or dogs go berserk among the sheep, it simply means an even leaner winter than is customary for Nunn, ill-nourished Milly and their several children. The AAA and WPA do manage to penetrate to a few of the neighbors; later on others go off to fight or to take a job in a distant defense plant. But Nunn and Milly in their isolation are thrown back almost solely on their own meager resources. Nunn takes the risk and tries his hand at some salable moonshine and also sells off some of his remaining livestock.

The real trouble is that the man is prey to an obsession. The dollars he is able to scrape together go to buy a pair of pedigreed foxhound pups and to keep them supplied with special food. For Nunn is bound he will get even. He will not rest (or provide adequately for his family) until his dogs have cornered King Devil Fox, whose depredations through the countryside are almost legendary.

Upon this simple framework Mrs. Arnow has built a novel of compelling charm. This despite several big obstacles. Her constant folksy dialogue has long been spoiled by strips such as *Li'l Abner*. It includes one rude phrase in particular, repeated on every conceivable occasion by one and all. His ruinous feud with the fox seems to be Nunn's only object in life. Milly, his wife, comes to be little more substantial than a symbol of patience and devoted motherhood. No other figure is memorable unless it be Sue Annie, the primitive midwife on hand with all her salty talk for every birth, crisis and death for miles around.

But Mrs. Arnow makes up for her seemingly passing interest in individual persons by building up an absorbing picture of a curious way of life. Her Kentucky men and women are less grotesque than Jesse Stuart's; I suspect that her picture of life in those inaccessible hills is even more authentic. It continues to take on warmth and depth as her story progresses.

★

Here is a sample of the narrative style: "After a hard day in the crossties Nunn liked to take the lantern and go out to the sheepfold under the storehouse. Lee Roy would have fed them their shelled corn and fodder when he came from school, but Nunn wanted to count them himself, for some, like Old Bossie Jean, a bell ewe, who usually dropped two big early lambs, had the bad habit of slipping away at lambing time. He would hang the lantern on one of the foundation posts and sit a time squatting on the ground, taking his after-supper chew of tobacco; and gradually the ewes that had been wild as deer on the range in the late fall would come up to him, shy-eyed and hesitant still, but not afraid, cautiously sniffing his hands and his jumper pockets and his old felt hat. He would sit perfectly still until one came that seemed bolder than the others and then with a carefully unconcerned slowness, as if he were not much interested in the ewe, he would reach out and scratch behind her ears and under her tail, and usually she would stand for him

until he could feel her teats, her eyes in the lantern light still wild, but trusting. The other ewes would be quiet, looking at him, their great luminous eyes full of gentle wonder, each eye carrying the cross Aunt Marthie Jane had used to show him as a child. Gentling his ewes, he was, for lambing time and sheep shearing, the way Aunt Marthie had gentled hers."

There are times when Mrs. Arnow's sense of pity verges on sentimentality. Even the improvident Nunn seems to arouse lively sympathy on the most unaccountable occasions. The author engenders throughout a feeling akin to charity toward all her untutored hill people. But whatever the full explanation, "Hunter's Horn" is a story in which it is easy to lose yourself.

EDWARD S. SKILLIN.

Franz Kafka: Diaries. 1914-1923. Schocken. \$3.75.

AS WE COME round the bend in sight of the half-century, the morning mists lift from the literary landscape, and we can see which, truly, are giant peaks, and which merely deceived us. Some seeming Himalayas have, quite simply, disappeared, mirage and illusion; other ungainly humps we took for clouds, we see now are respectably solid ranges.

Joyce, Proust, Gide, Yeats, Mann, Shaw, Woolf—the strong monosyllables are also mountains. Lawrence, Lorca, Faulkner, Eliot, Rilke, Kafka: these have their permanent profiles on the horizon. But what of others; of Rudyard Kipling, H. G. Wells, Katherine Mansfield, Mary Webb, John Steinbeck, Karel Capek, Henry Miller? And where, mid-century, stand Huxley, Morgan, Mauriac, Graham Greene, Hemingway, Malraux?

We can each make our litanies and our lists, or name half a hundred bugbears. Somewhere on the lists will be the name of Franz Kafka. The second volume of Kafka's diaries, excellently translated, and printed with Schocken perfection, is tremendously rich fare, and should be taken a spoonful at a time.

★

Here, over nine years of intense creative life, and of even intenser creative suffering day by day, the mind of an imaginative artist unfolds, so that the works behind may be watched: the common reader can see how the wheels went round in one explicit mind, more conscious of itself, and more aware than most people are, both of its own existence and of that of its Creator. Belloc has remarked that it was odd of God to choose the Jews; but sometimes one is tempted to think their obsession with Him is no less strange. They simply cannot leave Him alone. Kafka is quite extraordinarily engaged with Him. Indeed, reading these diaries is like trying to rescue someone who has fallen—or thrown himself—on to the electrified line. The reader risks also himself.

Kafka analyses his own escapist illnesses, and his will-to-death; he directly avows his continual battle with his father. "This thought lately: that, as a little child I had been defeated by my father, and because of ambition have never been able to quit the battlefield all these years despite the perpetual defeats I suffer." "Sometimes this bond of blood too is the target of my hatred, the sight of the double-bed at home, the used sheets, . . . can exasperate me to the point of nausea, can turn me inside out;

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it is as if I had not been definitively born, were continually born anew into the world, out of the stale life in that stale room." His view of himself is quite clear: "at a certain point in self-knowledge, when other circumstances favoring self-scrutiny are present, it will invariably follow that you find yourself execrable. You will see that you are but a rat's nest of miserable dissimulations. The most trifling of your acts will not be untainted by these dissimulations. This filth is the nethermost depth you will find; at the nethermost depth there will be not lava, no, but filth," and out of this he cries: "have mercy on me, I am sinful in every nook and cranny of my being. Don't thrust me in among the lost. I know it is my ridiculous love of self that speaks there; but, as I am alive, I also have life's love of self. If I am condemned, then I am not only condemned to die, but also condemned to struggle till I die." And, elsewhere: "We are permitted to crack that whip, the will, over us with our own hand."

But it is when he writes of the genesis and growth of a story that one feels, here is life itself, wriggling, on a pin. "Began a new story; I was afraid I should spoil the old ones. Four or five stories now stand on their hindlegs in front of me, like the horses in front of Schumann, the circus ringmaster, at the beginning of the performance." Here too, is much of the correspondence with F (the last letter is wholly universal in its applicability) and here are the travel diaries. A sometimes neglected point about Kafka was his debt to Strindberg: here he acknowledges it fully: "I don't read him to read him, but rather to lie on his breast. He holds me on his left arm like a child. I sit there like a man on a statue. Ten times I almost slip off, but at the eleventh attempt I sit there firmly, feel secure, and have a wider view." Certainly, whatever else Kafka does for us, he, too makes us have a wider view.

ANNE FREMANTLE.

Prowling Russia's Forbidden Zone. Werner Knop. Knopf. \$2.75.

THIS BOOK is the result of a visit to Germany from May to August 1948, including three weeks of travel in the Soviet zone, under false identities. Its author, Werner Knop, a very smart young man who gathered his material at the risk of his life, was born in Germany of Dutch stock, became a British subject in 1939 and now resides in the U.S. Some sections of the book

have appeared in serial form in the *Saturday Evening Post*—and this explains perhaps the split character of the book. Some parts of it are written like the serious report of a secret agent and others in the way of a super-thriller, compressing within its pages as many hair-raising events as possible.

I have to confess that I have a prejudice against mixed stuff: hermaphrodites, centaurs, tigrans and fictionized history books. I don't mind thrillers, but I dislike serious information intermingled with "spicy writing." For me the facts are much more exciting than the overwritten adventures.

Whatever the motives for his hazardous mission, Knop returned with many interesting observations. It is for these that his book is worth reading. The most interesting ones deal with the nightmarish awakening of the sleepy Erzgebirge area. Its mountains contain pitchblende, an oxide of uranium. Soviet scientists invaded the picturesque villages soon after the occupation and were followed by the slave gangs of conscripted workers. Today the Erzgebirge is to the Germans of the Eastern zone what Belsen, Buchenwald and Dachau were once to the anti-Nazis of Europe: hell on earth.

According to Mr. Knop, the uranium miners are working up to 12 hours a day, urged on by their overseers: Soviet convict soldiers. He assures us that since 1946 more than 400,000 men have been driven in to the uranium district, though never more than 100,000 have worked in the mines. Perhaps 50,000 have succeeded in escaping into the Anglo-American zone and 10,000 have been transferred by the Russians to the uranium mines of Joachimsthal, Czechoslovakia. But what happened to the other men? It was only known that those who had shown themselves most submissive and physically strong were leaving for an unknown destination. Knop says that their journey ended in the forests of Siberia.

Knop returned into the American zone with some women who fled from the Kremlin-dominated territory. Their soberly told stories make impressive reading, especially the report of a Russian woman who had walked in two years more than 2,500 miles from the slave camps of Turinsk to join her husband, a former Soviet officer, who had escaped into the British zone of Germany.

There are many other reports of nearly unbearable sufferings and indignities. In popularizing these grim realities, Knop's book may have a certain political mission.

MAX FISCHER.

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History of Early Russian Literature. N. K. Gudzy. Translated by Susan Wilbur Jones. Macmillan. \$10.

THIS IMMENSE tome offers us a record of several centuries of Russian literary culture, to be precise, from the eleventh through the seventeenth century. Stemming chiefly from Byzantium, most of the productions of this period bear a singularly insular character. The Renaissance had completely passed Russia by, and the window on the West that Peter the Great had opened had not let in enough air at the beginning to matter, though eventually Western influences led to the great nineteenth century flowering, producing such great figures as Pushkin and Gogol, Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, and a host of lesser if still considerable geniuses.

Before Peter, there was the same Curtain we hear so much about today; after Nicholas II the Curtain re-descended, shutting off the only culture from the West that mattered.

During the period treated in this volume a culture of sorts went on. The human spirit will not be kept down altogether. There were chronicles, there were epics, there were stories of saints; above all, there were legends, constantly in the process of creation. There was also folklore, much of it, oddly enough, centered around the figure of Alexander the Great.

Professor Gudzy stresses the point that the Russians always translated any alien culture which managed to drift in into terms compatible with the native attitude. Thus, Josephus's works, which were among the first to invade Russian culture, appear in many respects different from our version.

By far the most impressive pages in this book are devoted to Archpriest Avvakum who, apart from other works, left an extraordinary autobiography. He was a saint, if saint he can be called, of a singularly Russian variety, though we are told that "old Russian literature had known nothing of the sort before Avvakum." Assuming the role of prophet and emissary of God, there was little of the monk in him. He was, in fact, "a family man, an affectionate father, living the secular life and not given to preaching monastic asceticism." Avvakum had a good opinion of himself, and the courage to sustain this opinion, though he was repeatedly beaten and jailed for his pains. The chief merit of his *Life* is the author's genius for using plain colloquial speech, which he injected into the customary Church Slavonic, often crowding out the latter altogether, thus making him understandable to the common man. He alternated saintly with abusive language, and, all in all, exhibited a duality which one was later to see richly expressed in the great Russian novelists, especially in Dostoevsky. For an understanding of Russia, this book is invaluable.

JOHN CURNOS.

The Complete Stories of Herman Melville. Edited, with an introduction and notes by Jay Leyda. Random House. \$4.00.

IT IS HARD to reread Melville honestly, let alone review him. Especially when it comes to his short stories. It is hard to review them independently as one would a modern collection of short stories—*The Lottery*, say, by Shirley Jackson—without reference to *Moby Dick*, or even *Typee*. And yet to review Melville's short stories honestly, one should.

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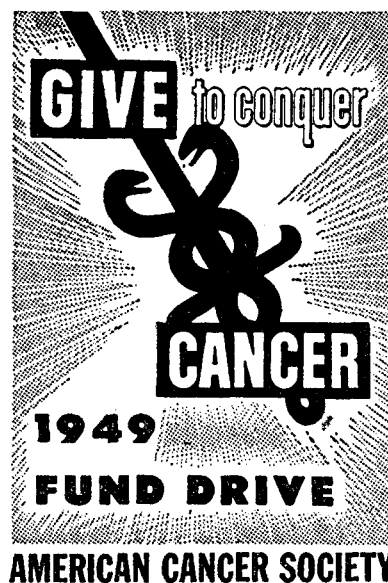
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His own contemporaries also found it hard to square the writer of the stories with the author of *Moby Dick* and *Pierre*. Contemporary reviewers and editors were embarrassed. The publisher of *Putnam's Monthly* wrote this to his editor about a collection of the *Putnam* stories: "I don't think Melville's book will sell a great deal, but he is a good name upon your list. He has lost his prestige—and I don't believe the *Putnam* stories will bring it up. But I suppose you can't lose by it."

Then, as now, there was an enormous gap between Melville the novelist and Melville the writer for periodicals. And it wasn't, as one would suspect, that the writer for the ephemerides was potboiling when the novelist was writing for posterity. He was just such a completely different writer. In the stories he was more relaxed, in his slippers as it were, and yet equally at home with his medium. Melville, I believe, used the short story as other men use the essay, not to concentrate, but to digress.

For that reason, remembering *Moby Dick*, one can find such pieces as "Cockle Doodle Doo" and "Jimmy Rose" inferior. Such pieces fit no formula—then, or now. Most of the pieces in this book, the complete collection of stories assembled for the first time between covers, are nevertheless typical Melville and should be read by anyone wishing to understand one of our greatest writers. Such a reader will find the stories their own reward. "Benito Cereno," "Bartleby the Scrivener," "The Enchantadas," "Poor Man's Pudding and Rich Man's Crumbs," exhibit Melville's moral depth, his extraordinarily rich language, his passionate concern for human beings. And after a surfeit of the contemporary "formula" short story even Melville's lesser pieces will appear fresh and meaningful.

DONALD DEMAREST.

A Manual of Style. University of Chicago Press. \$4.00.

THE ELEVENTH edition of this authoritative and useful manual, first published in 1906, includes a revised glossary of technical terms, more detailed explanation of the copyright law, and a number of new illustrations on "preparation of copy." Its important section on Specimens of Type has been considerably expanded to include new display type faces and the characters-per-pica count for each book type face presented. A wealth of practical information on how to prepare "copy" for the printer.

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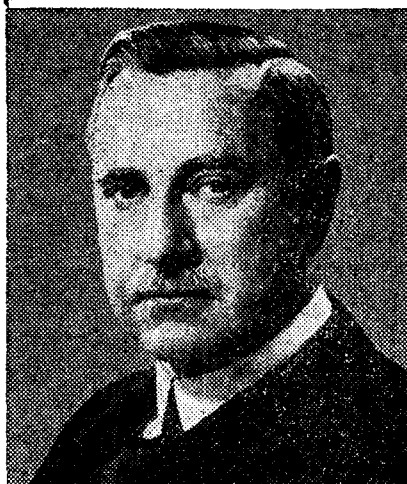
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